# Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 AF-08 ARA-06 EA-07 NEA-10 ACDA-07 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NASA-01 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02 PA-01 PRS-01 OES-06 SS-15 SAJ-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 USIE-00 ERDE-00 /118 W

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O R 141000Z FEB 77
FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9786
INFO AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY OSLO
USSMISSION GENEVA 1056
USMISSION USNATO
USMISSION USUN
AMCONSUL GOTEBORG

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UN, PARM, SW

SUBJECT: UN SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT

REF: STATE 26795

- 1. POLITICAL COUNSELOR MET WITH LARS-GORAN ENGFELDT, MFA OFFICIAL RESPONSIBLE FOR DISARMAMENT MATTERS, ON FEBRUARY 11 FOR EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON UNGA SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT (SSOD) AND PREPCOMS RELATED THERETO.
- 2. GENERAL SWEDISH VIEW OF SSOD REFLECTING SWEDEN'S TRADITIONALLY STRONG INTEREST AND INVOLVEMENT IN DISARMAMENT AFFAIRS, AND AS THE FIRST GOVERNMENT OUTSIDE THE NON-ALIGNED BLOC TT SUPPORT THE CONCEPT OF A SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT UNDER GENERAL ASSEMBLY AUSPICES, THE GOS WILL GIVE HIGHEST PRIORITY TO SSOD AND PREPARATIONS THERE-CONFIDENTIAL

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FORE. SWEDEN FIRMLY OF BELIEF THAT UN ROLE IN DISARMAMENT MUST BE STRENGTHENED AND WILL CONTINUE TO WORK TOWARD THAT GOAL. GOS VIEWS SSOD AS A CRUCILA STARTING POINT WHERE DESIRED UN ROLE MUST BE DEVELOPED. SSOD SHOULD NOT, HOWEVER, ATTEMPT AN ALL-ENCOMPASSING APPROACH COVERING ENTIRE RANGE OF DISARMAMENT QUESTIONS. RATHER, TARGETING SHOULD BE AGAINST SPECIFIC ISSUES OF GREATEST CONCERN TO WORLD COMMUNITY WHERE TANGIBLE

PROGRESS TOWARD RESOLUTION MAY BE MEASURED AS A RESULT OF SSOD. (ENGFELDT NEVERTHELESS DOUBTED THIS CRITERION WOULD BE USED AS SUBJECTS WERE RAISED FOR DEBATE.)

3. GOS PREPARATIONS - SSOD IS NOW SUBJECT OF SERIOUD INTERAGENCY DISCUSSION WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT. THERE IS EXTRAORDINARY INTEREST IN THESE QUESTIONS ON THE PART OF BOTH PRIME MINISTER FALLDIN AND FOREIGN MINISTER SODER. GOS HOPES TO SCHEDULE BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH BROAD VARIETY OF GOVERNMENTS FROM NOW THROUGH SSOD, INCLUDING THOSE OF SISTER NORDIC COUNTRIES (NORDIC FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING TO BE HELD AT REYKJAVIK IN MARCH), KEY NON-ALIGNED (YUGOSLAVIA AND INDIA PARTICULARLY), AND OTHER PREPCON MEMBERS INCLUDING THE SUPERPOWERS. ENGFELDT SAID GOS WARMLY WELCOMES US SUPPORT FOR AND PARTICIPATION IN SSOD. SWEDEN HAS GREATLY APPRECIATED AND BENEFITED FROM WELL-ESTABLISHED DIALOGUE WITH US ON DISARMAMENT MATTERS AT CCD AND HOPES FOR SIMILARLY CLOSE CONSULTATIONS ON SSOD AND PREPCOMS. AMBASSADOR GUSTAF HAMILTON (AT CCD) WILL LEAD GOS DELEGATION TO FIRST PREPCOM IN MARCH (DELEGATION WILL ALSO INCLUDE ENGFELDT). AMBASSADOR INGA THORSSON WILL PARTICIPATE WITH HAMILTON IN MAY PREPCOM. ENGFELDT SAID THORSSON WILL BE IN WASHINGTON DURING FIRST HALF OF MARCH AND HOPES TO MEET WITH KEY USG OFFICIALS INVOLVED IN SSOD PREPARATIONS. MINISTER-COUNSELOR ECKERBERG WILL BE INSTRUCTED TO SEEK SUCH HIGH-LEVEL APPOINTMENTS FOR THORSSON. POLITICAL COUNSELOR ASSURED ENGFELDT, IN RESPONSE, THAT US FULLY RECIPROCATES DESIRE FOR CLOSE AND FREQUENT CONSULTATIONS CONFIDENTIAL

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AND THAT EMBASSY WOULD BE PLEASED TO INDICATE TO THE DEPARTMENT ITS STRONG ENDORSEMENT OF THORSSON'S PROPOSED TALKS IN WASHINGTON.

4. MARCH PREPCOM - ENGFELDT SAID HE UNDERSTOOD MEETING, ORIGINALLY SCHEDULED FOR MARCH 7-11, HAD NOW BEEN POSTPONED TO MARCH 28. GOS HAS NOT YET REACHED CONCLUSIONS ON ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS WHICH WILL PREOCCUPY FIRST PREPCOM. LIKE OTHER GOVERNMENTS, GOS WILL BE SOLICITING THE VIEWS OF KEY NON-ALIGNED AND OTHER PREPCOM MEMBERS ON SUCH PROCEDURAL QUESTIONS WHICH WILL THEN BE CRANKED INTO INTERAGENCY CONSIDERATION. GOS BELIEVES SUCCESS OF RIST MEETING CRUCIAL TO ENTIRE SSOD PROCESS AND THAT 'LEVEL OF AMBITION' MUST BE HIGH. SINCE SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS WILL BEGIN IMMEDIATELY AFTER MARCH MEETING, THE DEBATE ON PROCEDURAL QUESTIONS WILL HAVE A PERVASIVE INFLUENCE ON THESE NEGOTIATIONSM FAILURE HERE WOULD SERIOUSLY DAMAGE WHATEVER PROSPECTS NOW EXIST FOR A SUCCESSFUL SSOD NEXT YEAR. ENGFELDT

SAID GOS VIEWS ON ORGANIZATIONAL AND PROCEDURAL ASPECTS WOULD BE CLARIFIED OVER THE NEXT SEVERAL WEEKS AT WHICH TIME GOS WOULD BE PLEASED TO CONSULT ABAIN WITH EMBASSY.

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## 5. PROBABLE SSOD ISSUES:

A. FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATING MACHINERY - ENGFELDT SAID IT WAS MOST LIKELY THAT PROPOSALS WILL BE PUT FORTH TO REPLACE CCD WITH OTHER ENTITIES ENSURING BROADER UN MEMBERSHIP. WHILE GOS HAS NO FIRM POSITION HERE, IT BELIEVES THAT AS LONG AS CCD EXISTS, NOTHING SHOULD BE DONE TO DISRUPT ITS WORK.

B. NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT - LIKELY TO BE THE MAIN THEMSE OF THE SSOD. THE SUCCESS OF THE ENTIRE SSOD PROCESS DEPENDS ON A GOOD DEBATE AND SOME MEASURE OF TANGIBLE RESULT HERE. RESPONSIBILITY LIES ON BOTH SIDES. THE NON-ALIGNED MUST PUT FORTH 'PRODUCTIVE' RESOLUTIONS AND THE US AND USSR ('THE REAL ACTORS') SHOULD BE PREPARED TO OFFER CONCRETE PLEDGES.

C. SECURITY GUARANTEES TO NON-NUCLEAR STATES - WILL CERTAINLY BE ON THE AGENDA AND THE GOS WILL MAKE CLEAR ITS VIEWS ON THE NON-USE PLEDGE THAT MIGHT BE GIVEN NON-NPT CONFIDENTIAL

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### STATES.

- D. COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN ENGFELDT WENT OVER THE MOST RECENT GOS INITIATIVE TO TABLE SWEDISH DRAFT PROPOSAL FOR CBT TREATY AT CCD (DESCRIBED IN STATE 31258). HE REPEATED GOS HOPE THAT TREATY MIGHT BE SIGNED DURING SSOD NEXT YEAR, AND EMPHASIZED THE PSYCHOLOGICAL BOOST THIS WOULD PROVIDE TO SPECIAL SESSION.
- E. CHECMICAL WEAPONS BAN GOS BELIEVES THIS WILL BE RAISED AND HOPES SUFFICIENT PROGRESS MIGHT BE MADE TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO SIGN AN AGREEMENT DURING SSOD. THORSSON WILL BE SEEKING MOST RECENT US VIEWS ON THE ISSUE DURING HER MARCH VISIT TO WASHINGTON.
- F. REDUCTION OF CONVENTIONAL ARMS MOST CERTAINLY WILL BE RAISED BY THE NON-ALIGNED WHO REGARD QUESTION AS RESPONSIBILITY OF INDUSTRIAL POWERS. THIRD WORLD SENSITIVITIES IN THIS AREA HAVE ALWAYS BEEN OF GREAT CONCERN TO GOS.
- G. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DISARMAMENT AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT GOS CURRENTLY HAS INTERAGENCY GROUP STUDYING QUESTION. LIKE MOST INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES, SWEDEN HAS THUS FAR CONFINED ITSELF TO RHETORICAL STATEMENTS VOID OF SOLID CONCLUSIONS.
- H. RULES OF WAR TREATY SHOULD CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS TO REACH FINAL AGREEMENT FAIL, GOS HOPES ADDITIONAL EFFORTS WILL BE MADE TO PERMIT THE SIGNING OF AN AGREEMENT DURING THE SSOD.
- I. WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE GOS APPRECIATES REASONING BEHIND US LACK OF ENTHUSIASM FOR SUCH A CONFERENCE. SWEDEN AGREES THAT PROPOSAL IS A NON-STARTER UNLESS THE PARTICIPATION OF ALL PERMANENT MEMBERS G THE SECURITY COUNCIL IS GUARANTEED.
- 6. ENGFLEDT PONDERED THE QUESTION OF THE CHINESE ATTIUDE TOWARD SSOD, NOTING ITS NEGATIVE STANCE THUS FAR. WHILE SWEDEN HOPES PEKING WILL INVOLVE ITSELF IN SSOD PROCESS, CHINESE OBSTINANCY SHOULD NOT BE PERMITTED TO CONFIDENTIAL

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DELAY OR INTERFERE WITH PLANNING FOR SPECIAL SESSION.

7. COMMENT: GIVEN SWEDEN'S TRADITIONAL INTEREST IN DISARMAMENT MATTERS AND ITS APPARENT DETERMINATION TO PLAY A LEADING ROLE IN SSOD AND THE PREPCOMS, THE EMBASSY ASSUMES THE DEPARTMENT WILL AGREE ON THE IMPORTANCE OF FREQUENT CONSULTATIONS WITH LEADING GOS OFFICIALS IN

DISARMAMENT FIELD. WE BELIEVE LATTER WILL CONTINUE TO BE RESPONSIVE TO US SUGGESTION AND THAT OPPORTUNITIES WILL ARISE IN WHICH SWEDISH INFLUENCE, PARTICULARLY WITH THE NON-ALIGNED, CAN BE USED TO HELP TAILOR SPECIFIC INITIATIVES DEVELOPED WITHIN THE SSOD TO CONFORM BETTER TO US ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT OBJECTIVES. THE VISIT OF THORSSON TO WASHINGTON IN MARCH SHOULD BE SEIZED UPON THEREFORE, AS THE BEGINNING POINT OF AN EVEN MORE INTENSE DIALOGUE ON DISARMAMENT WITH NEUTRAL SWEDEN. SMITH

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